THROUGH NEW YORK'S POLITICAL SEWER --- A NEW SERIES . . . P. 9

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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The forgotten American
See THE RAPE OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS, page 3

WAR & PEACE

British Labourites revolt on German rearming

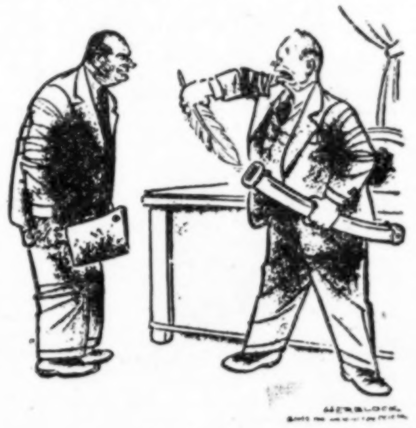
By Gordon Schaffer
Guardian special correspondent

LONDON

THE split in the British Labour Party over German rearmament is not just a revolt against a single aspect of policy; it is a challenge to the whole bi-partisan approach to foreign affairs. Opponents of the Attlee-Morrison-Gaitskell leadership are no longer just the Bevanites, but include half the last Labour government members.

Chuter Ede, up to now a right-wing stalwart, is among the rebels both in regard to German rearmament and to the expenditure on defense. Wilfred Fienburgh, a former Labour Party employe who was expected to strengthen the official leaders when he was given a seat in Parliament, was foremost in the revolt. Hugh Dalton, who has never abandoned his hope to become foreign secy. in a future Labour government, helped direct the campaign from his sickbed. Even more significantly, many of the younger men who have hitherto pinned their hope of advancement on sedulous support for Attlee, Morrison and Gaitskell now openly oppose them.

THE BITTER BLOW: The vote of the Labour MP's proclaimed to France and the world the strength of British opposition to German rearmament.



Herblock in Washington Post
"HAVE A CARE, SIR."

An even more bitter blow to the right-wing leaders was the strong minority against them in the party's National Executive. Because of the way the trade union block-vote operates when the Executive is elected at the party conference, the 13 union representatives are in effect chosen by the big unions who are all at the moment under right-wing leadership. When this section of the Executive revolts, then the leaders' policy is indeed in peril.

REASONS FOR APATHY: Many factors have led to this crisis. The MP's have been strongly influenced by unmistakable signs of rank-and-file unrest. At the last election, left-wingers like Driberg, Freeman and Bing held difficult seats when right-wingers were soundly defeated. Many Labour MP's know they would face defeat in a new election. Everywhere the story is told of the apathy developing in the Labour Party. Recently one right-wing ex-Labour minister had an audience of 17 at a widely-advertised meeting, and another had six.

The careerists—and there are plenty in the party—are realizing they cannot hold popular support with a policy in many ways more reactionary than that of the Tories.

BANKRUPT BUTSKELLISM: Most of the rebels have been forced into action by events of the last few weeks. When the **Economist** recently analyzed the economic situation under the heading "Dilemma of Mr. Butskell" (meaning the policy shared by Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer Butler and ex-Labour Chancellor Gaitskell), it said what everybody knows: that Butler and

(Continued on Page 4)

PEORIA WANTS 'RESPONSIBLE REPRESENTATION' IN CONGRESS

Labor, farmers, clergy join up to retire Velde

Guardian special correspondent

CHICAGO

ON April 13, when Illinois will hold the earliest primaries in the nation, House Un-American Activities Comm. chairman Harold H. Velde "faces the fight of his political life" (Chicago **Daily News**, 2/18) in the 18th Congressional District—Peoria and surrounding communities. The witch-hunt expert will be opposed in the Republican primary by Robert H. Allison, widely-known State Assemblyman for 20 years.

Scheduled to retire this year, Allison was persuaded to run by labor, farmer, Negro, clergy and senior-citizen groups who to oust Velde have formed a Non-Partisan Comm. for Responsible Representation in Congress (619 Barker Av., Peoria 5, Ill.). Here is Allison's record:

- Considered by AFL the best pro-labor man in the Legislature; honored as such at last AFL state convention.
- Opposed Taft-Hartley and the Broyles witch-hunting bills.
- A leading sponsor of pro-labor legislation; voted for FEPC.

CLERGY'S DIM VIEW: All labor is supporting Allison. Farmers, who have backed Velde in the past, are thinking carefully this time; Allison addressed a meeting of some 200 farmers recently—an exceptional crowd in that area. Many key Negro leaders are behind Allison on the basis of Velde's anti-Negro record.

Important support for Allison is also coming from clergymen; a striking pamphlet published by the Non-Partisan Committee, "Religious Leadership vs. McCarthyism & Veldeism," reproduces newspaper clips recalling the storm of criticism when Velde began investigating "communism in the churches" last year. Velde's own minister condemned him for that attack. Local ministers also take a dim view of Velde's alleged tie-up with the liquor and gambling interests.

WANT BETTER ANSWERS: The primary fight opens against a background of severe unemployment in Peoria. Some 12,000 are on the streets out of a total work-force of 85,000, with over 9,000 laid off at the huge Caterpillar plant now represented by UAW-CIO. Velde's answer to workers has been more red-hunts; he has threatened to go into the Rock Island (Quad Cities) area—one of the hardest hit in the nation on unemployment— to "investigate" labor there. A more practical approach is being taken by the Allison-backing United Electrical Workers, which has six locals in Peoria; as a result of its activity, the City Council has invited all labor unions to a special meeting on unemployment. The meeting was called after UE organizer Bill

(Continued on Page 4)

HAROLD H. VELDE
His own minister turned away

THIS WEEK: IN THE BIGGER GUARDIAN

- **Guardian reporter rides a jimcrow train**
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EXCLUSIVE NEXT WEEK: D. N. PRITT, NOTED BRITISH LAWYER, ANALYZES THE RECORD IN THE CASE OF MORTON SOBELL

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RJ

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Vol. 6, No. 21 178 MARCH 15, 1954

REPORT TO READERS

Bigger paper — bigger job!

IF YOU ARE A SUBSCRIBER outside the metropolitan New York area, your GUARDIAN is fatter by four pages this week—an expansion we hope we can maintain as a minimum and make the very most of journalistically for the future.

As we said when we announced this change, we have struck no bonanza—in fact we depend directly on you to help us foot the bills with a widened readership and some extra sustaining support on your own if you are not already chipping in. But the fact is that the urgency of issues affecting us all have dictated this expansion even though our fortunes don't warrant it.

- Growing unemployment demands accurate analysis: What are the real figures? Where is it concentrated? Why is it happening? Can it be headed off? How? New Deal economist Victor Perlo is tackling these questions in the GUARDIAN.
- Is McCarthyism the product of wildcat oil men from Texas, or are the Duponts and Rockefellers really pulling the strings? Tabitha Petran is already at work collecting evidence.
- Is civic corruption simply a matter of the mobs operating under the noses of unseeing officials, or are there family ties between the mobs, officialdom and big business? Elmer Bendiner begins to give the answers in this issue of the GUARDIAN, taking New York City as the prime example.
- What are the portents of the British Labour Party split on German rearmament? From London, GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer gives you the essential facts.
- What are the political prospects of dumping a bad actor like Rep. Harold Velde in '54? A report from Illinois tells what people there are doing toward this end.
- Has anti-Negro discrimination on railways been ended by Supreme Court decisions?
- What new fleecing is afoot against the American Indian?

YOU MUST READ THE GUARDIAN—this issue and all issues—to get the facts on matters like the foregoing, because no other national news medium and precious few local or regional ones can or will bring these facts to you.

Even the GUARDIAN's added pages, and the space gained by economies elsewhere in the paper, do not permit us to do immediately everything we feel we ought to be doing. One feature that can't be delayed is the long but vitally important analysis of the Morton Sobell case by the distinguished Queen's Counsel D. N. Pritt. Reports on Israel are due from GUARDIAN's correspondent there. Also crowding the back of our small but sizzling stove are an interview with Dr. and Mrs. Irving Peress, the real victims of McCarthy's latest vendetta; and reports on several new books you should know about.

Furthermore, we want to hear from GUARDIAN reader-correspondents all over the lot, on what's going on where you are. The new expanded GUARDIAN will bring New York coverage to the rest of the readers; we'd like also to bring New Yorkers more up-to-date on America west of the Hudson.

IN SHORT, we want to do just about everything possible with what space we've got—and YOU are the key in more ways than one. We want news of your part of America; and we want friends in your neck of the woods to meet the GUARDIAN.

Show this issue around. Sign up a few people for introductory subs, TODAY! Six-month subs are just $1 a throw; there's a handy sub blank right across this page, at the bottom.

Why not let your friends in on a good thing, NOW?

—THE EDITORS

THE MAIL BAG
USM

The Congress shooting

READING, PA.

An excuse for character assassination against progressives, communists, liberals — anyone who is against McCarthy — was supplied by the shooting of the Congressmen recently. The assassination of President McKinley by an anarchist was charged against Socialists at the time. My father and a future brother-in-law were fired by the Prudential Insurance Co. here at that time for being Socialists—the group charged by the public press with the offense.

The same old story all over again now—accuse somebody else to excuse themselves of the guilt of having caused or been responsible for it.

Fred M. Merkel

Joe's gonna get you

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

Hush, little voter, don't you sigh,
McCarthy's gonna get you a "foreign spy."
If that "foreign spy" ain't hot,
McCarthy's gonna get you a "Rooshan plot."
If that "plot" won't hold in court,
McCarthy's gonna get you a Monmouth Fort.
If that Fort should be a bore,
McCarthy's gonna get you a Sec't'ary of War.
If that 'Sec' calls spade a spade,
McCarthy's gonna get you a "red blockade."
If that, too, turns out a blight,
Joe's still the loudest, durn mensce in sight.

Colton P. Pick

A tip for Joe

CLEVELAND, O.

McCarthy is intent on wiping out communism. Let's give him a "helpful" tip on where to find a lot of it that he seems to have completely overlooked: the principles defining communism—"from each according to his ability; to each according to his needs." These principles have been practiced by parents in rearing their children, and before man appeared on earth, among the birds and higher animals, since none of their young could reach maturity and self-reliance without aid from their parents in conformity with these communist principles. Wouldn't the thought drive McCarthy berserk?

L. C. D.

How crazy can you get dept.

The prosecutor claimed a statement by [Intl. Fur & Leather Workers pres. Ben] Gold in the Fur & Leather Worker in Sept., 1950, proved he was still a Communist at heart. The statement said: "I still believe in the principles of free democracy." Gold also said he does not believe in "the violent overthrow of a democratically elected government." Lowther said this really meant Gold believed in the violent overthrow of the U. S. government.

—York (Pa.) Gazette & Daily, March 4.

One year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Paul H. Miller, York, Pa.

Both need clipping

NEW YORK, N. Y.

We have Sen. Bricker with his "Which Clause" and we have Sen. Joe McCarthy with his "Witch Claws."

Harry Files

The Condon district

RICHMOND, CALIF.

Our county is part of the 6th Congressional District represented by the much attacked Congressman Robert L. Condon. The IPP supported Condon in the last election and we hope to do so again if (and that's the big question) he gets the nomination from the Demo Party. While the rank-and-file members of the local Demo clubs and of the unions support his candidacy, there are rumors afoot that the top brass of the Demo Party are planning to dump him in favor of a "safe" candidate. Typical top-brass strategy of retreat . . . and sure defeat for any Demo candidate who runs for this Congressional post. We progressives are doing everything we can to convince our friends in the Demo Party and in the unions (all the unions in our county supported Condon—AFL, CIO, Independent, R.R.) to fight for Condon's candidacy.

Sylvia Russo

Ermine Pierson

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.
NEW YORK, N. Y.

The enclosed $25 contribution is sent in memory of and tribute to Ermine Pierson, beloved friend, who died on Feb. 21 in Brooklyn. A native of Seattle, Wash., Ermine was a pioneer in organizing white collar workers in welfare agencies.

Always intensely compassionate and deeply moved by man's inhumanity to man, she gave time, energy and support in the fight to save Willie McGee, to affirm the dignity and rights of Mrs. Ingram, to secure justice in the Rosenberg case and to bring comfort and assurance to the children of the victims of the Smith Act.

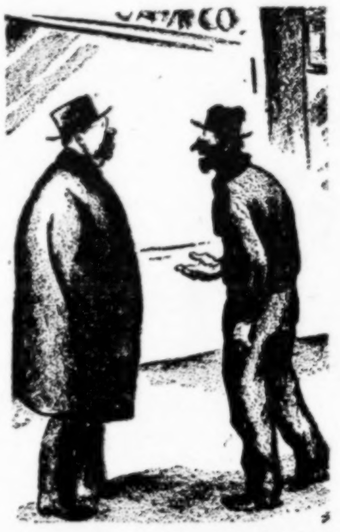
Virginia White
Maud Russell
Ida Pruitt

Unemployed council

BRONX, N. Y.

It's high time for an unemployed council in Greater New York. The unemployed army is growing. Construction of the 2nd Av. subway would create a lot of jobs, and would ease the suffering of the subway sardines. Many hospitals are needed in New York City.

Sid Howard



Fitzpatrick, St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"Could ya spare a dollar for a cup of coffee?"

A fix—in the neck

TRACY CITY, TENN.

The people wanted a change. I think they will get it—in the neck. I have been observing the working of the capitalist system ever since Woodrow Wilson kept us out of World War I. Then the Republicans brought us Peace, Plenty and Prosperity, etc., etc., and we are still in a hell of a fix.

G. W.

Escalator indigestion

DETROIT, MICH.

Down, Please!

During this so-called "National Readjustment" with lay-offs and short-work weeks, the workers find the escalator pacts rumbling down their empty bellies.

Eino Hiitunen

Social Security

ST. MARIES, IDAHO

The GUARDIAN is doing a real service in alerting people to the danger of our reactionary leaders doing away with what security we now have, in their proposals to "improve" the Social Security Act. Particularly good was the Jan. 4 article, "GOP moves to plunder $18 billion Social Security fund." It pointed out the good points of the Lehman Bill to liberalize and extend Social Security protection; warned against the U.S. Chamber of Commerce plan for raiding the trust fund built up by workers, and abolishing the present Old Age Assistance program, thus reducing grants to an indefinite dole. There was also the warning that the changes proposed by Rep. Carl T. Curtis, although "somewhat disguised . . . are the old C. of C. plan."

I was therefore quite dismayed to read, in the March 1 Mail Bag, the letter by Jim Higgins, in which he says that the "contractual concept of the so-called 'trust fund' . . . must be completely eradicated." Also that Rep. Curtis "seems to be on the right track." Regarding the trust fund, all workers believe that the money deducted from their pay checks was for their insurane and that it can never be right to steal it. It will be pretty hard to "eradicate" this idea from the workers' minds. Further, the "social (or socialist) attitude" that he points out as the basis for establishing pensions is confusing, and certainly premature; for we are still under the capitalist system. The basis for a "desirable system" cannot be the robbing of the trust fund.

I wish also to remind readers that the "forgotten people," the old age pensioners, have still been forgotten in these plans to really improve the Social Security set-up. The Natl. Federation for Old Age Security seeks to unite groups and individuals in working for an adequate national old age pension as a matter of right. For further information write to me.

Louise Dennis,
Rt. 1, St. Maries, Idaho

Latin America Today

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

The unfolding events of the Inter-American Conference now in progress at Caracas, Venezuela, will be a blue-print of U.S. plans in this respect. We cannot hope for anything but a distorted picture from press and radio, and progressive publications simply lack space adequately to deal with the complicated pattern.

This is a specialized task and a valiant publication, Latin America Today, is carrying it out. Its current January-February issue on the conference is a treasure trove of information. A sub costs only $1 a year. Address, 799 Broadway, Rm. 636, New York City.

Muriel I. Symington

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A NEW "CENTURY OF DISHONOR" IS LAUNCHED

The rape of the American Indians

By Lawrence Emery

SOME thirty-odd years ago a Republican administration set out to steal everything still owned by American Indians under treaties with the U.S. government. But Albert B. Fall, who initiated the move as Interior Secy., went to jail for taking bribes and the plot was eventually defeated. One of the Roosevelt administration's first deeds was adoption of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 which, said John Collier (Indian Affairs Commissioner, 1933-1945), ended "the century of dishonor."

Last week another Republican crew was busily—and quietly—carrying out the plot at which Harding's failed. McCarthy-inspired uproars made undetected looting easier; and aside from the Indians themselves few had been disturbed by the bill Congress adopted without hearings or discussion last July—under which, as Collier says,

> ". . . any state government in its sole discretion may replace the federal government in Indian civil and criminal matters, may override the tribal constitutions, abolish the tribal authorities and, in practical effect, pulverize the tribal cultures and moralities."

President Eisenhower found the bill "most un-Christian" and promptly signed it into law—with the pious hope that Congress would improve it with later amendments. No such amendments have even been proposed by his Interior Dept.

"NAKED REPUDIATION": Instead, the department itself is now sponsoring a group of bills—the first of more than 100 planned—under which ancient pledges of federal protection and services will be terminated, Indian landholdings and properties liquidated. The current crop of bills affect some 70,000 Indians: the Seminoles in Florida, Turtle Mountain Chippewas in N. Dakota, Alabama and Coushatta tribes in Texas, Sac and Fox and Iowa tribes in Kansas and Nebraska, Potawatomis and Kickapoos in Kansas, Flatheads in Montana, Menominees in Wisconsin, Paiutes and Shoshones in Utah and Nevada; and others in California, western Oregon, western Washington, and New York. Collier said of the "termination" bills:

> "The planned program . . . is to destroy the Indian Reorganization Act through more than 100 piecemeal enactments, and in these same enactments to abolish the tribal constitutions and charters to individualize the tribal properties, and to repudiate, nakedly and totally, the hundreds of ancient and recent treaties, agreements, and statutory and executive compacts with all Indians with no exception."

"RIGHT TO MISTAKES": As in all big-scale robberies, the theft is represented as in the best interests of the robbed. Eisenhower's Indian Affairs Commr. Glenn L. Emmons says the bills are in response to "a rising tide of sentiment that the Indians . . . are entitled to exactly the same rights and privileges as the rest of us." Emmons is an Arizona banker whose major qualification for his present job seemed to be that he knew a thousand Navajos by their first names. Sen. Arthur V. Watkins (R-Utah), who is conducting hearings on the bills, also speaks of rights:

> "We don't intend to deprive them [the Indians] of the God-given right to make a few of their own mistakes in managing their own affairs."

WHAT KIND OF A HOUSE DOES THE BANKER-COMMISSIONER HAVE?
A Navajo woman stands before her wooden shack near Tuba City, Ariz.

But at another point Watkins demanded of a witness:

> "Don't you think the American people who are not Indians have any rights in the matter?"

CHIEFS IN WASHINGTON: Joseph R. Garry, son of the Chief of Idaho's Coeur d'Alene Indians, had a comment on rights: Indians, he said, "don't want to be liberated from tax freedom or our hunting and fishing rights." The current bills, he added, might "give us our 'rights' and take away our minerals."

Oliver La Farge, chairman of the Assn. on American Indian Affairs (48 E. 86th St., N.Y.C. 28), quotes a letter from a small, almost forgotten tribe in California to illustrate the dismay and bitterness of U.S. Indians:

> "How can our Government end a hundred years of Indian heartache by abandoning us now? We are a poverty-stricken people and a beaten enemy."

By the last week in February chiefs and delegates of more than 40 tribes throughout the country, representing more than 110,000 Indians, were in Washington at the call of the Natl. Congress of American Indians. Clarence Wesley, grandson of Geronimo and chairman of the San Carlos Apache Tribal Council, gave the watchword:

> "Tribes must forget differences and work together in defense of Indian rights."

"SIGNAL FOR CHAOS": Not only their rights, but their tribal property, is at stake. The 2,043 members of the Klamath Indian reservation in Oregon, for example, receive $2,000,000 a year gross from the largest forest of high-quality ponderosa and sugar pine left standing. If and when the federal government terminates its trusteeship relation with the Klamaths, big timber interests would promptly take over this valuable tract.

In Washington Richard Shipman, vice-pres. of the Montaña Farmers Union and AAIA representative, told the hearings that passage of the bill affecting Flathead Indians in his state would be "the whistle signal for chaos." The 1,000 families on the reservation own three water-power sites worth $30,000,000; other assets on the land bring the total up to nearly $70,000,000. Shipman warned if the government pulls out,

> ". . . the golden ball will have been thrown into the air. The free-for-all grab will begin. Indians will be pitted against Indians by shrewd whites."

COVETOUS CORPORATIONS: Under the bill, the Flatheads could either form themselves into a corporation or have their property liquidated; but Shipman pointed out that the best corporation they could form would be no match for the big Montana Power Co. which would be the eventual gainer. Among supporters of the government's withdrawal "who want things the Indians own" he cited big oil operators, private utilities and timber interests.

D'Arcy McNickle, a Flathead Indian educated at Columbia and Oxford, said that under the bills "the cards are stacked against keeping the Indian property intact." Flathead spokesman Steve de Mers demanded a full inventory of timber and minerals on the reservation and at least ten years to prepare for withdrawal; his proposal left Sen. Watkins "quite amazed."

Under a treaty signed by the government in 1855, the Flatheads ceded to this country 16,000,000 acres in exchange for the "exclusive use and benefit" of the land they reserved for themselves, as well as tax exemption for it.

THE BITTER ROAD: To La Farge, the present effort to break such solemn promises is

> ". . . the worst Indian betrayal in a hundred years . . . a crisis more acute than any that has faced the Indians in our time. . . . A sudden end of federal safeguards that protect Indian self-government and ancient homelands can neither enlarge Indian citizenship nor remedy widespread Indian poverty, ill-health and ignorance that are the real 'Indian problem' . . .
>
> "[The present bills would repudiate] the promise of a century, on the basis of which Indian tribes ceded most of the U.S. to the nation—promises that Indian tribal organizations would be recognized, Indian customs respected, Indians' property safeguarded."

At a conference of the Indians who went to Washington for the hearings, spokesman Wesley charged the government with wanting

> ". . . to solve the 'Indian problem' in the quickest possible way—by getting rid of the Indians. . . .
>
> "The Indian battle for survival began when the first white man bribed his way into this country with a string of beads and a bolt of calico. Either the U.S. government recognizes its treaty and statute obligations to the Indians by protecting and strengthening all tribes and groups, or we continue down the bitter road toward complete destruction. For more than 130 years the government has been paving this road for us. . . . I would say that it's one of the few good paving jobs it's done for the Indians."

PROTEST TIME—NOW: The conference adopted a "Declaration of Indian Rights" which warned that the present bills

> ". . . if adopted, will tend to destroy our tribal governments, may well leave our older people destitute and the effect . . . will be to force our people into a way of life that some of them are not willing or are not ready to adopt.
>
> "American Indians seek for themselves only those things that are promised to every American citizen—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. . . . In exchange for federal protection and the promise of certain benefits, our ancestors gave forever to the people of the U.S. title to the very soil of our beloved country. We have never asked anything except that this protection be continued and these benefits be provided in good faith."

John Collier said the only way to defeat the bills is by direct protest to President Eisenhower:

> "It is his Interior Dept. which has devised the strategy of this final onslaught against both Indians and our collective honor . . . has drafted and is drafting the faithless bills. His signature will be required to make them law, as it was required to make the 'most un-Christian' House Bill 1063 into law last August. There are predatory men, and men representing predatory interests, in Congress; but the push behind these fatal measures is the executive, not the legislative push. The time to address President Eisenhower is now."

●

Use old Guardians to win new friends. Simply send them out in an open end wrapper with a 2c stamp. They'll pay dividends every time.

20 years in God's country

WASHINGTON, Feb 28—. . . It was stated for the record that the average life span of Navajo Indians was "less than 20 years." This figure, given to Congress by Dr. James R. Shaw of the Interior Dept.'s Bureau of Indian Affairs, compares with statistics from the U.S. Public Health Service showing that the life span in the white population of the country now averages 68.4 years. Deaths from tuberculosis . . . in 1952 . . ran to 9.3 times the rate for whites; those from dysentery, 13 times. . .

Asked whether progress had been made in improving the lot of the Navajos, Dr. Shaw indicated that some might have been made through sanitation instructions to families in the light of the fact that the population was growing at a rate of 2% per year.

—N. Y. Times, March 1.

"The charge of heresy is a hoax"

By now it should be clear that no person or institution can be completely cleared of the stigma attaching to this charge [Communism]. This is because it relates not to acts but to the private realm of conviction and belief. . . . The less precise and meaningful it is, the less does it need to be proved and the more impossible does it become to disprove. For the objectives of the demagogue, it must be capable of infinite expansion, ultimately to compromise every position and every conformity except the demagogue's own. The label of Communism has served this purpose well; it embraces not only all shades of Marxism and Socialism but New Dealers, Fair Dealers and Democrats, and now includes even Republicans.

The real charge here, of course, is not Communism, but heresy. This is an imaginary crime in the most literal sense of the term, since it is one that a man is supposed to commit inside his own head. To plead "Not Guilty" to such a charge is to permit it to be lodged and thereby to resign the dignity of citizenship that rules such enquiry out of order in the first place. . . .

The issue is complicated by the fuzzing out of the legal concept of conspiracy to comprise another new crime—crime by association. Like heresy, this chimera too is dissipated by the clear test of action. It is basic to our sense of justice that a man can be charged only for his own personal acts and cannot be held responsible for the behavior of associates. The charge of guilt by association must be met on the same grounds as that of guilt by thinking: its admissibility as a charge must be denied at the outset.

The charge of heresy is a hoax. But it takes a party of the second part to bring it off. Like the emperor's new clothes, the crime of heresy derives its principal substance from the consent of those who are willing to be hoaxed.

—Gerard Piel, publisher of Scientific American, **at recent annual meeting of the Amer. Assn. for Advancement of Science.**

THE CARACAS CONFERENCE

Guatemala states the basic issue: Equal exchange vs. the Big Stick

By Kumar Goshal

IN the modernistic University Assembly Hall in Caracas, Venezuela, the tenth Inter-American Conference began on March 1, attended by over 1,000 delegates from 20 republics, including the U.S. The first week was packed with drama, as the U.S. skirted around the economic issues uppermost in most delegates' minds and hammered on "international communism."

Providing "more of an embarrassment than an aid to the U.S. cause . . . the Dominican Republic [was] put up as a champion of democracy" (N.Y. Times, 3/8) to offer a resolution outlawing the Communist Party in the hemisphere. Secy. Dulles, speaking March 4 to what appeared in news photos to be some 150 people, offered no encouragement on U.S. economic co-operation. He painted a scary picture of U.S. and Canadian "spy" trials, of "Soviet Communists" seeking to "liquidate freedom in world affairs," and warned that if communism did not "keep away, we shall deal with it as a situation that might endanger the peace of America." He did not mention Guatemala, but the implication was clear.

GUILERMO TORIELLO
No room for dollar diplomacy

TORIELLO PERTURBS: Next day, Guatemala's Foreign Minister Guilermo Toriello took up the challenge, received when he finished twice as long an ovation as Dulles, which "surprised . . . and perturbed . . . some members of the U.S. delegation" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, 3/6). His main points:

- "The privileged . . . have tacked to Guatemala's shoulders the label of 'communism'" because Guatemala's "effort to abolish feudalism and exploitation of its nationals" has "affected the privileges of foreign firms."
- "Those who threaten continental solidarity are those who oppose or hold back integral development of the American people, [which] should be based on . . . raising the standards of living and of production by the peoples [of the hemisphere] in a system of equitable and humane economic interchange."
- "Every manifestation of . . . economic independence, every aspiration for social progress, all intellectual curiosity and all interest in progressive and liberal reforms [has been catalogued] as 'communism' . . . to maintain the economic dependency of American republics."
- "We resist believing [that the U.S. is] attempting to return to the old shameful practices . . . of the 'Big Stick' and . . . 'dollar diplomacy,' . . . the landing of U.S. Marines and the occupation of custom houses 'to guarantee investments.' . . ."
- "What is 'international communism'? . . . Is it pretended that it is an instrument in the services of the Soviet Union? . . . If ideas could be interventionist, then . . . the foundation would be laid for ideological persecution and discrimination for political reasons, which are condemned by the principles of constitutional and international law."
- "[We] will oppose any resolution . . . that under the pretext of communism . . . [converts] Pan-Americanism into an instrument to hold the [S. American peoples] in semi-colonial conditions for the benefit . . . of foreign monopolies. We also oppose emphatically the internationalization of McCarthyism. . . . And we denounce . . . the political aggression and the threats of economic aggression and of intervention of which . . . Guatemala is victim."

2 & 2 MAKE FIVE: Dulles called Toriello's speech "abusive," ppresented next day a U.S. resolution recommending

- ". . . measures to require the disclosure of the identity, activities and sources of funds of those . . . spreading propaganda of the international Communist movement, and of those who travel as its agents. . . .";
- ". . . the exchange of information among Governments to assist in fulfilling the purpose of resolutions . . . regarding international communism."

Some S. Americans (NYT, 3/8) were unable to accept such "vague generality," felt "suppression of ideas is implicit in the language of the resolution." One delegate thought the U.S. could get all 20 votes for a forthright declaration that Moscow intervention would threaten America's security; but many would support all peoples' right to preach and practice Communist or any other kind of ideas. Some conceded that the U.S. "by acting tough . . . could push through the resolution in 48 hours, but it would be a pyrrhic victory"; others felt that "if the U.S. wanted badly enough, it could have a resolution passed declaring that two and two make five."

From **Christian Science Monitor** columnist Joseph C. Harsch (2/26), who regretted that the U.S. could not punish Guatemala by shutting off economic aid since "Guatemala accepts no such aid," came this thought:

> ". . . Perhaps the Central Intelligence Agency . . . [which] must operate in silence and out of sight . . . has an answer up its sleeve."

THE UNEXPLAINED: To Dulles' "abusive" charge, Toriello replied that he had attacked neither the people nor the government of the U.S.:

> ". . . Mr. Dulles' charge . . . is valid only and exclusively if the U.S. Government were identified with the United Fruit Co. and other monopolies."

On March 8 Dulles defined "international communism" as "that far-flung clandestine political organization which is operated by the leaders of the Communist party of the Soviet Union," accused it of transforming E. Europe into Soviet colonies. He did not explain how Latin Americans could organize and act to end their hunger and misery without being classified as "international communists."

A FRENCH SUGGESTION: On the economic question which most delegates wanted to discuss, headaches piled up for Washington's delegation. Colombia and Chile bluntly criticized Washington economic policy, indicating that the U.S.

> ". . . would be subjected to more sustained and forceful pressure at this conference than in any previous one to yield significant concessions in such matters as raw-material prices, tariffs and government loans" (NYT, 3/7).

Commenting editorially (3/6) on Dulles' request for an anti-red front and "very evasive" position on economic aid, **Le Monde** (Paris) said that many Latin American countries

> ". . . feel not without reason that the most effective anti-communist fight would consist precisely in reconsideration of U.S. capital's methods of exploiting the continent, and in giving priority to investments which would permit betterment of their peoples' living standards."

McCarthy moves "to break & subdue the President"—W. Lippmann

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British crisis

(Continued from page 1)

Gaitskell think and act alike. MP's know they cannot win an election on that policy, and trade union leaders know they cannot retain their membership's support if they have nothing more to offer than the Tories.

In the end a revolt was bound to come. It came in the country with the refusal of the formerly docile union leaders to accept falling living standards, and in Commons with the revolt against the government's statement of policy on defense expenditure.

WINNIE PASSES THE SALT: While the opposition simmered in the domestic field, Morrison, completely overestimating his strength, demanded support for German rearmament. In the debate which followed revelation of the extent of the split, Churchill rubbed salt in the Labour leaders' wounds. He warmly praised them for initiating the policy of German rearmament, then spoke of his hopes of further negotiation with the Russians with a warmth completely lacking from the speeches of Attlee or Morrison.

Finally he applauded the visit of businessmen to Moscow and expressed the hope that most of the American embargoes would be lifted. This at the very moment the Labour Party and the T.U.C. were vigorously defending the embargoes and doing their level best to minimize the value of the orders given to businessmen in Moscow.

Churchill is shrewd enough to see that no political party in Britain today can live on a negative policy of hatred of the Russians. But the Labour leadership has nothing else left, as its right-wingers' anti-Soviet tirades in the debate showed.

END OF A ROAD: Labour has reached the end of a journey which it began in 1946 when Attlee, Bevin and Morrison beat down the movement in the party to repudiate Churchill's Fulton speech. That was when the bi-partisan foreign policy, and with it the hidden coalition, began. For Britain it meant the end of the hopes for sweeping social reforms pledged in the 1945 election.

The price of that policy is being demanded in the defense expenditure which never grows lighter, which is wrecking the health, education and other social services, and is forcing down working-class living standards. It is resulting in the latest proposal to keep more British boys stationed on the continent. It is bringing to every home the fear that the German aggressors will once again precipitate an even more catastrophic war.

The realization is all the more poignant because most Labourites are now convinced that the Russian danger does not exist and did not exist when Bevin was Foreign Secy.; and that the Korean War, which was used to keep the tension alive, was started not by the North Koreans but by Syngman Rhee who is now threatening to torpedo the coming Geneva conference.

NOW IT IS CLEAR: The machinery of the Labour and trade union movements can hold down even a revolt of this size for a long time, but the point has at last been reached when the results of the right-wing leaders' policies is apparent to the whole movement. Leaders of the party which proclaimed itself "socialist and proud of it" in 1945 no longer even talk of socialism. They have more in common with Krupp and Adenauer than with the peasants who have taken over land in the German Democratic Republic or the workers who share the management of the former I. G. Farben factories.

The demand for a change of policy is now revealed as the demand of the great majority of the movement. But it has yet to break through and turn its demands into action.

Velde's seat

(Continued from page 1)

Krumm came with a delegation of 75 unemployed to a City Council meeting, finally got the floor to present UE's program after being stymied for a week by red-baiting.

Velde also said recently he would investigate "red infiltration" in farm organizations, but with farm income falling, many farmers are looking for a better answer to their problems.

As the Chicago **Daily News** recalled, Velde won his first primary race in 1948 by 1,000 votes; in 1952 he won by only 5%. None of the candidates against him has been as well and favorably known as Allison. This year the permanent registration law gives voters the right to change their party affiliation without disturbing their vote for any general election candidates in November, since no primary has been held in the past 23 months.

Communist Party drafts a program

SETTING forth in a 5,500-word draft program its position on immediate and long-term questions, the Communist Party U.S.A. last week said the nation faces "imminent blackout of all constitutional liberties and the brutal imposition of an American type of fascism." It said that the U.S. foreign policy since World War II could "only lead to disaster," and that "'a full-fledged police state," toward which McCarthyism represents "an ominous and monstrous trend," could only be blocked by an alliance of all opponents of McCarthyism from Left to Right with organized labor in a major role.

The program, which the CP said would be issued in a million copies, urged:

- Raising the people's purchasing power, curbing the trusts.
- Spending for human welfare, homes, schools, not for war.
- Ending the cold war, promoting friendship and trade.
- Turning back the tide of McCarthyism, returning to the Bill of Rights for all.
- Equal rights for the Negro people in all phases of life.

"ABIDING PATRIOTISM": The CP said these aims could be realized now but that they "cannot do away with the planlessness and recurring crises of capitalism. Only socialism can do that." In a forceful denial that it advocates violence to attain this or any other goal, the party added:

> "Socialism will come into existence in the U.S. only when the majority of the people decide to establish it. . . . No progress . . . can come other than through the will and action of a majority of the American people. . . . [The CP's] deep and abiding patriotism has been sealed in the blood of hundreds of members of the CP who have died in defense of our country and people. American Communists believe in the defense of their country. We deny that the Soviet Union or any other country led by the working people threatens our country. . . . We resolutely oppose 'police actions,' wars of aggression, or wars of intervention in the affairs of peoples fighting to shape their own way of life as they see fit."

Free world vignettes

TEHERAN, Iran, Feb. 28—Nasr Zolfaghari, a member of a powerful land-owning family that may have given the Government its only upset in the present Parliamentary elections, was arrested today under the martial law articles.

Mr. Nasr Zolfaghari ran fourth in the election late last month for three Majlis (Lower House) seats in Zenjan, the Zolfaghari family seat. Two Zolfaghari brothers, Mahmoud and Mostafa, who ran first and second, have already been arrested and are still in prison.

Mohammed Zolfaghari, who confirmed his brother's arrest, is still at liberty. He ran fifth. He said he thought he might be arrested soon. If the Government disqualified the Zolfagharis, two Government-favored candidates who ran sixth and seventh will be assured seats, although it was reported they received 104 and 0 votes, respectively.

—N. Y. Times, March 1.

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"Hundreds of men and women wept in the streets."

—United Press dispatch from Moscow, March 4, 1953.

Why They Wept for Stalin

He found his people wearing birch-bark sandals. He left them shod in leather.

He found them living in thatched huts, attics and cellars. He left them great cities of apartments and villages of sturdy homes.

He found them weak from typhus, small pox and cholera. When he died, these plagues were only a memory.

He found most of them illiterate. He left them with more colleges than all of Europe.

He found two million out of work. He left a country with unemployment unknown.

He found the peasants seeking rain through prayer. He left them building thousand-mile walls of trees to bar the drought winds.

He found the women beaten, millions choked behind horse-hair veils, many still prostitutes. When he died, women were more than half the engineers; prostitution was long forgotten.

He found peoples deep in race hate. He left them marrying across national and religious lines, as did he and his co-workers themselves.

He found the Jew peddling, the Gypsy trading horses, the Eskimo in fear of the medicine man. He left them farmers, workers, scientists, officials.

He found the worker carrying, digging, building by hand. He left him running machines to do the work.

He found the peasant following a wooden plough behind a skinny horse. He left him riding a caterpillar tractor.

He found his people bleeding from foreign attacks. When he died, no Soviet boy was fighting anywhere on earth.

He found capitalists, shopkeepers and rich farmers still scrambling for profit. When he died, no man made a penny from another man's labor.

Lenin laid the foundation. Stalin erected the building. Together, they taught the common people to shape their own destiny. Thus they elevated the dignity of man.

That's why they wept in Moscow. And that is why, the tears wiped away, they carry on as though Stalin were still in the Kremlin. That is his greatest achievement.

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CALENDAR

Chicago

"EDUCATION & FAMILY LIFE IN THE USSR TODAY," Elizabeth Moos of N.Y. (Also: movie in color). 8:15 p.m., Sat., March 20. **MUSIC ROOM**, Fine Arts Bldg., 410 S. Michigan. Auspices: Chicago Council, A. S. F. Donation: $1.

Sat., April 3, 8:30 p.m., U.E. Hall, 37 S. Ashland. **"FOR TRADE AND PEACE WITH CHINA,"** Maud Russell, outstanding authority in U.S on China. Also **Pete Seeger**, **Bill Broonzy**, famed folk singers. Adm: 60c. Ausp: American Peace Crusade.

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Los Angeles

MASS MEETING in connection with forthcoming trial in San Francisco of Carl Ross, Shirley Kremen, Sam Coleman, Patricia Blau for "harboring" Robert Thompson and Sidney Stein; and Sidney Stein for "harboring" Robert Thompson.
DATE: March 18, 8 p.m.
PLACE: Park Manor, 607 S. Western
SPEAKERS: Carl Ross, the "Harboring" Case; Ben Margolis, The Smith Act Appeals; Reuben Borough, Amnesty for Political Prisoners.
Auspices: Civil Rights Congress.
Admission: 60c, tax included.

24th Dist. of I. P. P. Presents Repeat Performance — 2nd Annual **CANDLELIGHT CABARET** — dance to music by John "Streamline" Ewing. Sat., March 20, 10 p.m.-2 a.m. Zodiac Room, Cosmopolitan Hotel, 360 S. Westlake Av. Don: $1.

Seattle

HEAR LEO HUBERMAN on "Behind the Labor Problem Today." Sun., Mar. 21, 1 p.m. The Church of the People, 4033 University Way.

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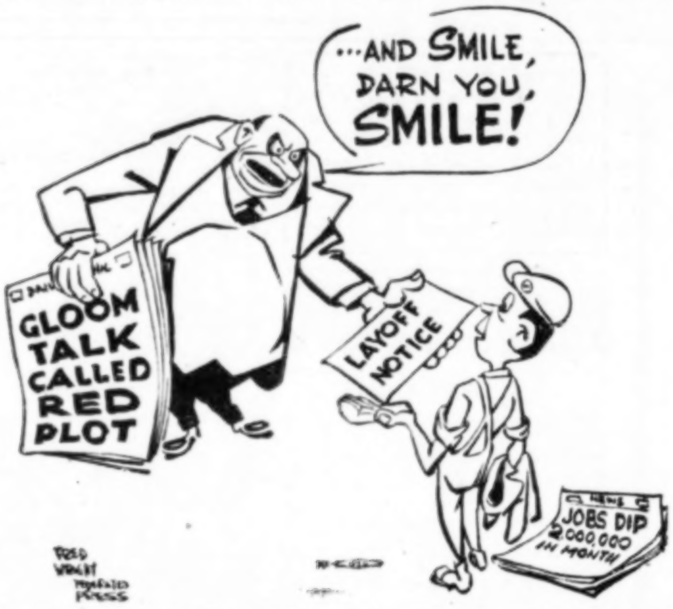
WHAT THE UNIONS ARE DOING

Unemployment: Programs to solve it

By Victor Perlo
(Second of two articles)

THE most encouraging fact in the unemployment picture is that the trade union movement recognized the danger early, and is moving to meet it.

The Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers (Ind.) late last November pioneered with an action program featuring direct federal aid to the unemployed, wage rises, huge public works, opening of East-West trade, and special assistance to small mine operators hardest hit by the non-ferrous metals crisis. Subsequently the maritime unions, woodworkers, furriers, electrical and farm equipment workers, among others, have announced partial or all-around programs. Last month the AFL issued a seven-point program.


...AND SMILE, DARN YOU, SMILE!
GLOOM TALK CALLED RED PLOT
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JOBS DIP 2,000,000 IN MONTH
FRED WRIGHT FEDERATED PRESS

UAW's DEMANDS: Most representative and influential was the program adopted Dec. 8 by 900 delegates to a UAW Full Employment conference held in Washington. Main planks:

1. 2,000,000 homes yearly, including large-scale public housing.
2. Broaden education, health, public works, more TVA's.
3. FEPC with teeth.
4. 100% parity for working farmers.
5. Improved social security.
6. $1.25 minimum wage.
7. Personal tax exemptions of $1,000, higher taxes on wealthy.
8. Debt moratorium for the unemployed.

In California, Indiana, Michigan, N.Y. and other states, central labor bodies and union locals are active before state legislatures and city councils petitioning for improved unemployment insurance, federal food relief, etc. A large part of the labor press gives prominence to the unemployment situation and labor's program to meet it.

Danbury hatters and New York electrical workers have conducted strikes against the runaway shop. Studebaker workers struck to prevent a layoff. Dodge UAW Local 3 warned of direct action to prevent evictions of the unemployed.

UNITED ACTION: Evidently, labor is better organized to cope with depression unemployment than in the 1930's. Then the unemployed had to form special organizations, while AFL leaders dropped jobless members and stood on the sidelines. Today the unions promise to be the center of the struggle, fostering united action between employed and unemployed.

Labor is more or less united in pushing for a New Deal-type program in opposition to the Administration "trickle-down" approach; its demands go far beyond the New Deal in scale, and include some new ideas. Particularly, they more or less consciously reflect the principle that government must provide jobs where private industry fails—promised by FDR during the war but betrayed by the Truman regime.

Disagreements

Some critical differences mar labor's generally agreed program.

- **Jobs through war vs. jobs through peaceful foreign trade.**

The UAW program, on Reuther's insistence, denounced trade with the U. S. S. R., and Reuther gets publicity with demands for war orders in auto towns. The AFL program, drafted by veteran anti-Sovieteers Matthew Woll and Jay Lovestone, calls for a bigger arms budget, denounces trade and political negotiations with the U. S. S. R.; its exec. council contributed $50,000 to further subversive activity in socialist countries. The position makes it easier for the Washington adventurers to "solve" the unemployment problem through war.

Countering it is a rising anti-war trend in the labor movement. All of the progressive-led independent unions are demanding East-West trade and advocate jobs through peace rather than war. With various degrees of clarity, such CIO unions as the woodworkers, UAW's giant Ford local 600, and the NMU, have taken a similar position.

- **The 30-hour week issue.**

The demand for a 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay is a "natural" in the present situation of rising unemployment coupled with record "automation" of industry to cut down labor requirements. The AFL officially ignores this demand. Reuther long denounced it as a communist plot, countered with his vaguely-defined guaranteed annual wage plan.

Recently the 30-hour-week campaign has made rapid headway among auto locals. At the UAW conference, Reuther was able to prevent its formal inclusion in the program, but agreed that it could be a subject of negotiations with management. Recently steel workers' locals have begun to join the 30-hour-week fight. The independent unions were the pioneers on this, as on other issues.

- **"Labor statesmanship" vs. struggle for jobs.**

Important labor leaders still advocate the big-business line of concessions by workers as a means of helping create jobs.

The Textile Workers Union (CIO), advising its locals not to seek wage rises this year because of poor economic conditions, played into the hands of the big textile companies openly seeking wage cuts. In hard-hit Toledo, UAW official Richard T. Gosser won the plaudits of industry by inducing a UAW local to give up week-end overtime rates as a sweetener for a chemical company desirous of taking over a large glass factory. Then he sponsored a labor-management "Industrial Development Council," organized the contribution to it of $10,000 each from CIO and AFL. The Chamber of Commerce liked its looks, abandoned its own projected council to join Gosser's in hope of getting more favors at labor's expense.

UNDAUNTED UNIONS: On the other side, the UE recently held a 45-plant conference to work out higher wage demands against GE. Four unions are jointly planning contract demands against the Anaconda Copper Co. USW members in the Continental and American Can Companies, undaunted by the drop in demand for steel, won a long, hard strike with a 15c hourly wage increase. Of contracts concluded in January, 88% included wage raises, which averaged 7.4c hourly plus fringe concessions.

In the long run, these differences will have to be resolved constructively, or further splits and a disarmed labor movement will result.

But for the present, the practical activity of most unions is centered on the agreed New Deal-type demands. Recent CIO and AFL statements have stressed political activity in the coming Congressional elections. Prospects are good that, despite the Administration's wishes, workers will succeed in making the main issue labor and New Deal programs vs. big business and give-aways to the wealthy.

"They are desperate"

"In addition to those 3,000,000 unemployed [Census figure, Jan.] there are hundreds of thousands of men working only two, three or four days a week. In coal mines the standard workweek is now three days." In hundreds of small cities and towns this is spelling disaster for grocery stores, drug stores and other little business, [Bro. of Railroad Trainmen pres. W. P.] Kennedy said [testifying before the joint Congressional comm. on the economic report]. "Everywhere I saw vacant stores for rent." . . . In Brownsville, Pa., Kennedy said, he found 35% of his union members had been laid off because there wasn't enough freight. The same picture greeted him elsewhere.

"Those laid off are mostly young men," he said. "They have never been unemployed before. They have had faith that our economic system would always take care of them, keep them employed. Now they begin to doubt. . . . They are desperate. They want only an honest day's work and can't find it."

—**Federated Press, Feb. 19.**

IS THE TRUST FUND THE TARGET TOO?

Rosenberg children's guardian placed in Surrogate's hands

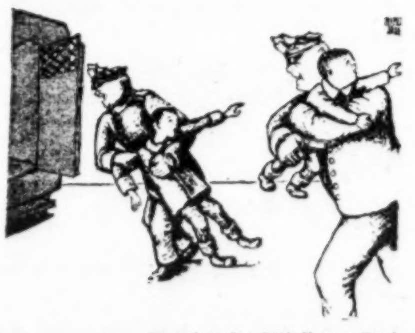
SURROGATE William T. Collins has set March 18 as the date for submission of legal briefs, on the attempt by the New York City Welfare Dept. to have the Jewish Child Care Society's president designated guardian of Michael and Robby Rosenberg and their "property." Defense attorneys Gloria Agrin and Alexander Bloch had sought at least a month's delay to study the law in the case, possibly to challenge the Surrogate Court's jurisdiction. The children meanwhile remain with their grandmother, Mrs. Sophie Rosenberg.

The Surrogate announced his action after two other judges agreed to leave the guardianship decision to him. The city's battle to acquire custody began before Domestic Relations Judge Jacob Panken who, without a hearing, turned the children over to the Jewish Child Care Society; Supreme Court Justice James B. M. McNally then restored them to Mrs. Rosenberg.

WANTS SUGGESTIONS: Before the city's action, which has aroused protests around the world, the children, with Mrs. Rosenberg's consent, were living happily with Anne and Abel Meeropol.

Surrogate Collins said he wants "the best guardian for these children I can obtain" and urged all persons interested to write him recommending a guardian and listing their candidate's background and qualifications.

On April 5, Collins said, he would hold a hearing on the question of the guardianship.



Drawing by Mitelberg, Paris

"Respect for the family is the basis of Western Civilization." Eisenhower

He directed that the wills of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, written the day of their execution and naming Emanuel Bloch guardian of their children, be filed with his court. Bloch died of a heart attack on Jan.30. Before his death he succeeded in setting up a trust fund of nearly $50,000 to care for the children until they reach maturity. In its Court petition, the Welfare Dept. said:

> "Your petitioner states, upon information and belief, that the said infant (Michael) is entitled to certain property and estate, the extent of which cannot now be fully ascertained, and that, to protect and preserve the legal rights of said infant, it is necessary that a guardian of the infant's property be appointed."

ENTER MRS. GREENGLASS: Miss Agrin told the court she doubted if the fund—carefully set up and administered by five trustees—could be considered the children's "legal property." But Welfare Dept. atty. Philip Sokol argued that it was "contributed by the public for their benefit."

O. John Rogge, attorney for David Greenglass whose testimony sent his sister, Ethel Rosenberg, to the electric chair, added a complication to the case when he filed an affidavit in behalf of Mrs. Tessie Greenglass, grandmother of the two boys. The affidavit said that "in her view these infants should find a home with a suitable family of Jewish origin and persuasion."

Write to Collins

Surrogate William T. Collins, in whose court the question of the Rosenberg children's custody is to be decided, told opposing lawyers: "I want the best guardian for these children I can obtain." He urged letters recommending a guardian.

GUARDIAN readers might suggest to him that the present welfare and future of the boys could best be served by assigning their care to the Rosenberg family which has been most sensitive to their needs. Write to: Surrogate William T. Collins, Surrogate's Court, Hall of Records, 31 Chambers St., New York 7, N. Y.

White Housemobile

The director of public relations of the Ford Motor Co. has been appointed a temporary White House consultant to work on public statements and reports for President Eisenhower's administration.

He can start to work on the proposition that what's good for General Motors is good for Ford.

—**Labor World (AFL), Spokane, Wash., 1/11/54.**

NAACP ACTS TO END SEGREGATION ON THE RAILROADS

Guardian reporter rides a jimcrow train — and tells what happened

WHEN THE SUPREME COURT HEARD THE SCHOOL SEGREGATION CASE
Spectators lined the corridors hours before the session began. A decision on the separate-but-equal question, heard in December, is expected soon.

Lawyers for complainants and defendants in the NAACP case against 12 railroads and the Union News Co. met in Washington March 3 for a pre-hearing conference on issues, procedure, etc., for the main hearing before the Interstate Commerce Commission. No date has been set for this hearing. The question involved is the right of railroads, restaurants on RR property, and waiting rooms to continue to segregate Negroes despite Supreme Court and ICC rulings.

By Eugene Gordon

EVERYBODY agreed last June I'd have no trouble buying a Pullman reservation to Florence, S. Carolina: Interstate Commerce Commission ruling and local custom made it harder to enforce segregation on Negroes traveling from the North. But nobody, including the Natl. Assn. for Advancement of Colored People, would predict what might happen when I started back. The NAACP's Robert L. Carter was compiling legal data against railroad jimcrow: Would Mr. Gordon report what happened to him?

This is that report; also the story of the NAACP's most important move on the jimcrow front since its Supreme Court offensive against segregated schools.

UP FRONT: I had no trouble, either, buying a reservation at Florence—a week in advance—on the all-chair Miami-New York express for June 14. The seat, No. 50 in car 39, cost $1.15.

The train was "The Champion." It was so long when it pulled in a little after 1 a.m. that light from the station touched only a few cars in its middle, several at each end being shrouded in darkness. Looking for 39, I passed car after car, until only two loomed in the shadow between me and the locomotive. The first was mine.

Negro men crowded the narrow passageway into the coach. Many a woman with a sleeping child filled the same seat. Here and there a father stood in the aisle beside his family or sat on the chair's arm. Clearly, the railroad was still practicing the traditional habit of hitching the "cullud car" to the engine's tail.

THE SARDINES: A man was asleep in the seat I had paid for. The scribbled "receipt" he showed me proved he too had paid for it. The woman beside him—cuddling a small child—complained it was "a shame the way they sell the same seats twice and then pack us in like sardines." Another said: "It's worse than this in that car up front." The first woman said a man had given up his seat to her and had gone to "the lounge." She and that stranger had paid for the same reservation.

I told them I was a newspaperman and that if we co-operated we might be able to do something.

In the front car women with babies were cramped into narrow circular seats about knee-high round-topped tables from 2½ to 3 feet across. They listened impassively to my story of the Atlantic Coast Line railroad's mistreatment of us. They could see it themselves. But they perked up when I asked permission to make complaints against the road in their behalf. I wrote in my notebook the names, addresses and pertinent facts of six typical cases.

"TAKE ANY SEAT": Miss Rosalie Robinson of New York City showed a slip of paper with 39 written above 41, "receipt" for her $1.15. Seat 41 had already been sold. Alvin Jackson, Orlando, Fla., paid for seat 42 after he was on the train.

"Somebody else was in it. I went and spoke to the conductor and he said, 'Oh, just take any seat.' So I had to sit in the men's room. Didn't get my money back, either."

"Why didn't you make your reservation in Orlando?"

"I did phone for a reservation. They asked me if I was white or colored. I said colored, and they said they couldn't make any reservation by phone."

THE LONG MARCH: No white passengers were in either of these two cars. I asked several persons: "Are you sure there're no Negroes in any of the other coaches?" One woman said: "If you don't believe it, ask the porter." He passed through a moment later and I asked him. He assured everybody within hearing he wasn't going to assist "nobody" in "stirring up trouble round here." The man who'd given up his seat to the woman with the child told me I'd find the conductor "about a half mile back, in the diner." The woman pleaded: "Now, please, let's don't start any argument with these white people. You can't win, arguing with them."

"We got a good case here," the man said. "We got something to argue about."

On my way to the diner I passed through 15 long cars of white passengers, the only Negro encountered being a second porter. He listened to my reason for seeking the conductor. He said: "Come on. I'll take you there myself." I said: "Lots of empty places in these cars. Some passengers have their bags on the empty seats instead of in the rack." He didn't answer.

"I DON'T OWN THE TRAIN": The porter who had given me the brushoff was bending over the conductor at a table in the middle of the last car. They looked surprisedly at me. The episode which followed was not pleasant; but the conductor, swearing there wasn't an empty seat on the train—neither porter contradicting him—promised to investigate my complaint. The passengers' cynical comments on my report seemed justified when an hour passed without the conductor's coming.

At our second meeting he was in the same spot but alone. Informed that at least six passengers had authorized me—"I'm a reporter on the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, published in New York"—to represent them in charges against the railroad, he and the porters within an hour had reassigned Negro passengers throughout the 18-car train. He didn't trouble to explain how he did it with seats already fully occupied. He did, however—later that morning—swear that his heart bled for those "poor girls" who, with their babies, "shouldn't have been charged extra in the first place." He wanted me to remember that he was "just the conductor" and didn't "own this train." "Florida" was responsible for the condition complained of.

. . . BUT THEY DO: The NAACP last Dec. 14, identifying itself as "a membership corporation duly organized under the laws of the State of New York," filed a "complaint on behalf of its branches, membership, board of directors and employes" before the ICC, naming 16 complainants in addition to itself and this reporter. It named the following defendants:

> St. Louis-San Francisco Ry. Co,; Louisville & Nashville R. R. Co.; Southern Railway Co.; Santa Fe Ry. Co.; Texas & Pacific Lines; Atlantic Coast Line R. R. Co.; Missouri Pacific R. R. Co.; Seaboard Air Line R. R. Co.; Kansas City Southern Lines; Illinois Central R. R. Co.; Gulf, Mobile & Ohio R. R. Co.; Richmond Terminal Co.; Union News Co.

The 12-page mimeographed complaint ends with the "prayer" that after

> ". . . due hearings and investigation, an order be issued commanding said defendants to cease and desist from aforesaid violations of the Constitution of the United States and of the Interstate Commerce Act, in view of the fact that these violations are widespread and indulged in by many interstate carriers, terminal companies and corporations engaged in or performing services essential to interstate commerce; that an order be issued forbidding all such carriers, companies and corporations from segregating, discriminating or from making any distinction based upon race or color among passengers in interstate commerce. . . ."

Robert L. Carter and Thurgood Marshall signed as counsel for complainants.

ACT NOW—THE EXECUTION DATE IS APRIL 9

Clemency for Wells urged by labor unions on both coasts; prison doctor makes plea

EXECUTIVE boards of seven locals, representing 6,000 Joint Board Fur Dressers & Dyers Union members, unanimously adopted on Feb. 15 a resolution urging Gov. Goodwin Knight of California not to allow Wesley Robert Wells' execution in the San Quentin gas chamber April 9. Though the U. S. Supreme Court has refused to review the case, Gov. Knight can act for clemency at any time. The 44-year-old Wells has been in prison, except for a few months in 1941, since he was 19. He was sentenced to die for throwing a cuspidor at, and injuring, a prison guard under extreme provocation.

The Fur Dressers' action preceded by a few days the Arts, Sciences & Professions Council natl. exec. committee's appeal to all ASP chapters to support the Wells clemency campaign, to all members to write Gov. Knight "requesting executive clemency" and take Wells' case up "with friends, church, civic and trade union groups."

The first eastern Wells committee, making information and speakers on the case available in New York, has been set up as the West Harlem Wells Committee (3609 Broadway, N. Y. C. 31; Mrs. Lucille King, chairman).

WESTERN LABOR ROUSED: In California, formation of a Los Angeles Youth Division of the Wells Defense Committee was announced by Mrs. Charlotta Bass, chairman. The Religious Commitee for Defense of Wesley Robert Wells got 110 ministers and rabbis to sign an appeal "on religious and moral considerations."

A trade union committee includes the San Francisco divn. Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Warehouse Local 6; Los Angeles ILWU Warehouse Local 26 and Longshore Local 13; exec. board of the Pile Drivers; Carpenters Local 34; L. A. Painters Local 116; Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Local 700; Furniture Workers Local 576; United Electrical Workers Local 1421. The Trade Union Committee to Save the Life of Wesley Robert Wells can be reached at 228 McAllister St., Room 211 (UNderhill 1-3184), San Francisco; 326 W. 3d St. (MAdison 6-5121), Los Angeles 13; 700 21st St., Oakland.

DOCTOR INTERCEDES: Among communications to the Governor from men who participated in some way in Wells' conviction, one came from Dr. Burt F. Howard, prison psychiatrist at the time of the cuspidor episode, another from Dr. Marcel Frym, director of Criminological Research and faculty member of the U. of S. California and of L. A. State College. Howard wrote that if Wells is executed,

> ". . . now that the Supreme Court has refused to intervene, I shall feel that I am partly to blame for his death unless I can persuade you to issue a pardon.
>
> "The . . . cuspidor episode would never have happened if the prison authorities had acted promptly and favorably on my written report following my interview with Wells. What I should have done in my capacity as prison psychiatrist would have been to obtain a personal interview with the Warden to give him immediate understanding of my findings. . . . [Wells] was conditioned at an early age of orphaned childhood to courageously resist 'jimcrow' while struggling to make a precarious living. Unspeakable plots and cruelties practiced against him would have killed a weaker man. Racial hatred and legalistic red tape have robbed him of the consideration due a human being."

Dr. Frym, an appointed member of the State Atty. Gen.'s Advisory Committee for Crime Prevention, wrote that while he did "not usually respond to requests for intercession in cases of impending execution," he felt he should do so in Wells' case. After reviewing the "series of prison riots" throughout the country, quoting criminologist Prof. Austin McCormick that "many riots were not primarily due to the dangerous state of mind of inmates but to bad conditions in these prisons," Dr. Frym wrote: "I, therefore, most respectfully request the granting of executive clemency for Wells."

BOOKS

A fine reporter tells how a new society is born

IN Daybreak in China, Basil Davidson pictures the rapid and complete transformation from a feudal to a modern society that China has been undergoing. For example, he presents a picture of land reform in action; such staggering facts on agriculture as the doubling of irrigated land since 1949 and the increase in grain production to the degree that the Chinese could send surplus grain to starving neighbors in India; the vast increase in industrial production and productivity of labor, enabling China to manufacture machinery to build "big and complex modern factories"; such eloquent figures as the publication in 1951 of 776 newspapers and 6,000 books in a total of one billion copies; and the exciting transformation taking place in drama, motion pictures and literature.

A CHANGING LIFE: Davidson had the advantage of a perspective developed through long and sympathetic knowledge of colonial and semi-colonial Africa, and through his glimpse—on his way to China—of socialist development among Europeans and Asians in the Soviet Union. He was able to recognize quickly the key issues and disregard those that are transitory and irrelevant, give a wealth of facts with brevity and clarity.

Davidson pictures China as a place where the people—as a Chinese friend told him—"are changing their country from old ways to new ways, from bad to less bad and even to good and very good."

A DEFINITION: In a style always lucid and often poetic, Davidson analyzes such prevailing terms as the Common Program, Criticism and Self-Criticism, finds that "the word liberation . . . means to the Chinese the liberation of productive and creative energy among millions of people who are beginning to know their own strength and their own ability for the first time."

After reading this book, it is impossible not to agree with Davidson's conclusion: "Here [in China] it is no longer fatuous or foolish to confide in the destiny of man . . . to see that the ancient promise of peace and goodwill to all men on this earth is not meaningless. . . . If the Chinese revolution has an inner message for the rest of us . . . it is this, and this above all: that man is good by nature." —K. G.

DAYBREAK IN CHINA, by Basil Davidson. Jonathan Cape, London; 191 pp. A February Liberty Book Club selection. (See LBC ad, below, for special offer.)

ASP GROUP LAUNCHES "VENTURE"

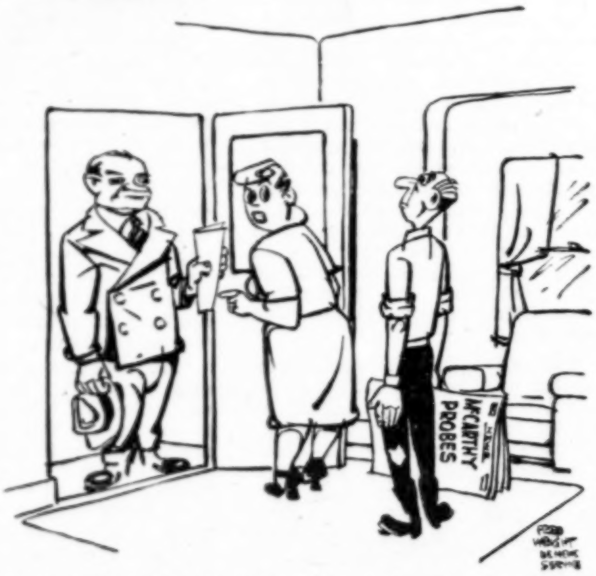
Writers in workshops

FOR the uncounted multitude of aspirants to recognition as writers, and for all who take an interest in writing as a craft, a very good 25c worth ($1 a year) is guaranteed in **Venture**, which the "writers' workshops" of the Arts, Sciences & Professions Council (35 W. 64th St., N.Y.C. 23) have just launched as a quarterly. Of several similar enterprises by unknown progressive writers in recent years, **Venture** is by far the best. Its 68 pages of stories and poetry are carefully edited, the material being chosen by quality standards and not in the always forlorn hope that "progressive" content will somehow compensate for poor craftsmanship.

The ASP workshop is a lively group, with an approach to paper and typewriter which is far from amateurish. To show how it functions as a sort of mutual-aid team, **Venture** publishes transcripts of two discussions they had on manuscripts.

STRAIGHT TALK: One is about a Spanish civil war story in **Venture**, and the reader learns of changes made in the story as a result of various criticisms. The other is about a soap-opera episode (not published) written by a workshop member; the group entered with gusto into the problems of writers who could do something better, forced by economics into writing stuff that (as this author admits) "is strictly commercial, cliche—it has to be, to get sold." A workshopper named Ben, who we are told "is angry at the world for letting him become a successfully retired advertising executive," complains: "It's a soap opera with not enough mush in it, not enough gush, not enough soap. . . . It should be good; lousy, but good." Earl, another workshopper, calls his colleague's effort "rotten junk, and the frightening thing about it is that it sounded very successful, all the prospects for success."

With their obviously genuine zest for good writing, the workshoppers are mature enough not only to give and take such frank criticism, but to let the world in on "the sound and fury of 25 to 30 unharnessed souls wrestling with a new piece of work." Some of the first batch of results does a good deal more than justify the method and **Venture**'s modest claim that the "firsts" it publishes "might well belong to important writers of the not-so-distant future." —C. B.



"Why, it's Senator McCarthy with a subpena. . . . Have you been pushing for a wage increase, Henry?"

PUBLICATIONS

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LIBERTY BOOK CLUB, by special arrangement with the Publishers has just secured a limited number of copies of GIANT IN CHAINS, by Barrows Dunham.

Professor Dunham was Chairman of the Department of Philosophy at Temple University when he wrote this book. Chosen as Liberty Book Club's June Selection, GIANT IN CHAINS was soon completely sold out and we have been unable to meet the demand for this excellent book.

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☐ DAUGHTERS & SONS by Kung Chueh & Yuan Ching
☐ DITTE: TOWARD the STARS by Martin Andersen Nexo
☐ DITTE: DAUGHTER OF MAN by Martin Andersen Nexo
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NEW YORK

Spotlight on corruption

Corruption is taken by most people to be as much a part of the city as neon lights and traffic jams— and as inevitable. Periodically a government committee lifts a corner of the carpet and shows the rotten underpinning, then covers it up again.

Currently the N. Y. press headlines the fortunes made by high state officials out of racket-ridden race tracks. A few years ago another commission piled up reams of testimony on graft in almost every department of the city. The books were closed and few know that most of those implicated are still at their jobs.

The GUARDIAN in this series undertakes to piece together the story of the rule by tin-horn; show the cost in millions of dollars drained from schools, hospitals, day-care centers into politicians' pockets while City Hall pleads bankruptcy; trace the conspiracy of big business, the underworld and the machines of both big parties to hog-tie labor.

By Elmer Bendiner

(First of a series)

EX-MAYOR James J. Walker once said: "A reformer is a guy who rides through a sewer in a glass-bottomed boat."

The view from the boat is filled with animal life, including political bosses who buy and sell judges, racketeers who buy and sell policemen, policemen who buy and sell protection, ward-heelers who buy and sell votes. Utility company inspectors are hatched in the Borough President's office, spawned by bosses. Big business and the underworld dine together and men come out of prison to become the bodyguards of politicians.

Great sharks and little sucker-fish prey on schools and hospitals and turn even snow to money. Race-track mobsters mate with elder statesmen in the sewer. The life-cycle of a politician can be traced from minnowhood in the election district to a legislator's seat in Albany. The view is picturesque but not exotic, for this political sewer is—"the house we live in."

JUDGESHIPS—$20,000: A lawyer, who operates in the sewer and makes no bones about it, once told this reporter that when he gets his judgeship appointment he will be a genuinely independent administrator of justice owing no man anything. He added: "I'll pay for it in cash."

Such a transaction was neatly chronicled before the N. Y. State Crime Commission by Frank J. Dufficy, a former Asst. U. S. Atty. who in 1947 took a taxi-ride with the then Tammany district leader William Connolly. Connolly offered Dufficy the nomination for Municipal Court judge in the 4th District. Dufficy later reported:

"He [Connolly] said it had always been the arrangement in the club and the other clubs that when a district leader had a nomination for Municipal Court Judgeship to give out, that the one who got the nomination would give the district leader at least one year's salary [$15,000] plus a campaign fund of at least $5,000."

"NICE TO BE LOADED": Dufficy said he wouldn't buy. The nomination then went to Cornelius McNamara. Several days later Dufficy ran into Connolly at a banquet. Dufficy said: "I understand you have a beautiful new automobile. It must be nice to be loaded."

Connolly: "It didn't cost me anything. That was McNamara's money that paid for that." (McNamara's money was also involved in a bar that Connolly bought and a sizeable bank loan.)

Cornelius D. McNamara is now associate justice of the Municipal Court, 4th District.

HIGH COURT—$100,000 UP: The price of a Supreme Court nomination was $100,000 ten years ago, has gone up since. The law provides for judicial conventions with delegates nominated at the party primaries. This is the way the machine drives over them as told by two expert drivers, one Democrat, one Republican:

TWO OF GOV. DEWEY'S CRIME BUSTERS

Former Judge Joseph H. Proskauer and former N. Y. City Police Commissioner Edward Mulrooney, of the State Crime Commission.

Abraham Rosenthal, former Democratic district leader of the Fourth AD, was asked by the State Crime Commission to explain how candidates for judgeships were offered to the convention. He answered: "I'd say they are presented there by the county leader of the Democratic Party to the convention."

Q: "Then what happens?"

Rosenthal: "Then he's nominated."

Q: "Have you ever known it to happen that the slate as presented by the county leader was not adopted by the convention?"

Rosenthal: "Not to my knowledge."

Republican county leader in the Bronx John J. Knewitz was asked about GOP judicial conventions: "That's all cut and dried, and you know what's coming out of it before the convention meets?"

Knewitz: "I presume it is."

Q: "It always comes out that way?"

Knewitz: "Always that way."

"NUISANCE & HEADACHES": Knewitz illustrated not only the parallels between the Democratic Party and the GOP, but how they worked in tandem. Knewitz was appointed Commissioner of Records of the Bronx Surrogate's Court in 1918 by two Democratic judges. He held on to his post through Democratic and Republican administrations and is still Commissioner of Records.

The State Crime Commission probed his attitude toward the rank and file in the clubs: "You make very little effort to recruit new members?"

Knewitz: "If they want to come in and join, it's all right with me."

Q: "But I think you told us when members joined the club, they always want something."

Knewitz: "That's the main reason for joining a club."

Q: "The more you have, the more nuisance and headaches you get?"

Knewitz: "Surely."

PIKER PAYOFFS: Prime headache for political machine drivers is the payoff. Everyone from a block captain who gathered 50 votes to the district leader must be paid—all out of the taxpayer's pocket. The deserving head of a large family who guarantees his relatives' votes may get a job as a clerk at election time, or several days' work when it snows. The District Leaders' prices are high; for him the judicial system is an orchard full of plums.

The courts provide many of the 462 "exempt" jobs (exempt from all civil service requirements) and the 14,000 "provisional" appointments—allegedly temporary to keep them out of civil service regulations, but actually of indefinite tenure, dependent on the employe's abilities to ingratiate himself with the machine. Taxpayers pay over $33 million annually to these people.

MONEY FOR NOTHING: A job as court attendant or court clerk can pay off small-fry. The salaries for the most part are good, ranging as high as $16,250 for general clerk in Brooklyn Supreme Court. Stenographers can get $9,000 a year and confidential clerks, $13,350. But the big-timers can't afford to have a nine-to-five job at any pay. These are cut out to be judges' secretaries where the work can be negligible, the salaries handsome.

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(Continued on Page 10)

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NEW YORK CALENDAR

"THE McCARRAN ACT: Is It Destroying Our Liberties?"—forum at 8:15 this Sun. evening, March 14, Holy Trinity Gym, 157 Montague St., Boro Hall, B'klyn. Speakers: Dr. John Paul Jones, American Civil Liberties Union; Miss Olive O. Van Horn, National Committee to Repeal the McCarran Acts; Prof. Royal W. France, attorney-at-law. Admission free.

YOU'RE THE EDITOR at our new Writing Out Loud, this Sunday, March 14, 8:30 p.m., at ASP, 35 W. 64th St. Your opinion decides acceptance, rejection of two new pieces for second issue of Venture, popular ASP Writers' Workshop magazine. (Dr. Henry P. Fairchild says: "Venture is fresh, vital!") Meet the authors, give your reaction to first issue. Free refreshments, social. Contribution: 60c.

BAZAAR—Polish Labor Press. Polish artcraft, Bargains Galore, Delicious Food. Also Program. An opportunity you can't afford to miss. Sat & Sun., March 13 & 14. Polonia Club, 219 Second Av. (nr. 14th St.)

FORUM: LITERATUDE AND THE PEOPLE. Second in a series, "Poetry and the People — Burns, Blake, Wadsworth and Shelley," by Dr. Annette T. Rubinstein, author of "The Great Tradition in English Literature: From Shakespeare to Shaw." At ASP Galleries, 35 W. 64th St. (SU 7-4677). Sun. evening, March 21, 8:30. Single lecture $1.

ASP ART DIVISION presents "A Letter to a Georgia Mother," a documentary film on migratory agricultural workers plus a speaker from the Committee of Friends of the South. Fri., March 12, 8:30 p.m., at 35 W. 64th St. Cont.: 75c.

"THE BIG LIE ABOUT THE LITTLE WOMAN." Hear Viola Brothers Shore, writer for movies, stage, TV. This Sun., March 14, 7:30 p.m. Discussion, social. Adm. free. Youth Comm. Greenwich Village ALP, 28 Greenwich Av.

REALITY discussed in **EVENING OF ART CRITICISM.** Hear EDWARD MELCARTH, painter, muralist, teacher, one of 19 top young American artists chosen for Life Mag. story. Audience invited to bring original works for criticism. Fri., March 19, 8:30 p.m. Cont. 50c. Art Division, ASP, 35 W. 64th St.

FILM DIVISION GOES SQUARE! Irwin Silber calls the square dances at our Weekly Surprise Party. Social, refreshments and a surprise package at ASP Galleries, 35 W. 64th St. Sat., March 13, 9 p.m. Cont. $1.

"THE NEW CHINA"
Thrilling film in technicolor. 2 showings, 7:30 & 9:30 p.m. Sat. & Sun., March 13-14. Cont. 75c. 5th A.D. Club ALP, 220 W. 80th St. (nr. B'way).

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Turmoil in Middle East, a discussion of social unrest behind the **"NAGUIB REVOLUTION"** in Egypt. Lecture by Lou Scott. Fri., March 19, 8 p.m. 863 Broadway (17th St.) Auspices: American Socialist. Contribution: 35c.

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How the big machines operate

THE big-party machine in New York is not geared for discussions of platform or principle. There is no mechanism for it. Block captains don't persuade votes; they glad-hand them, buy them or bully them.

Except in rare moments when great popular movements, stemming from outside the party, shake the nation down to each household, the machine goes about its business with scarcely a nod to issues. This is how it works:

Clubhouse democracy

There are clubhouses, but clubs rarely meet. A Democratic or Republican clubhouse is a headquarters for dispensing minor favors that buy votes at election time: the fixing of a parking ticket or reprieve from jury duty. It is a place to buy influence with a judge or get a job if it's small enough to be handled at the club level.

The enrolled rank-and-file is allowed only one chance to express itself, and there are adequate safeguards to see that it can never say too much. On Primary Day enrolled party members are allowed to vote for county committeemen. Theoretically a slate of committeemen is committed to a certain candidate for district leader, the real first sergeant of the machine. The candidate for leader does not appear on the ballot. Often the committeemen, allegedly committed to him, are not certain of who he is since the last minute jockeying may not be completed by Primary Day.

Primaries

Primaries are customarily held in the midsummer dog days, and evoke little enthusiasm. In 1952 an average of 6.9% of eligible Democrats voted in districts where there was no contest, 17.4% where there was one. The law stipulates a minimum of two committeemen per district. Actually the city is flooded with them, making the committee unwieldly. There are 8,082 election districts in New York City and more than 35,000 Democratic county committeemen. The committee meets seldom and few committeemen attend. A quorum is 200. Tammany leader Carmine DeSapio has said the biggest attendance at a county meeting he could recall was 4,500. The county committeemen serve mainly to designate the district leaders and these name the county chairman.

Those are the real powers, in office before most of the rank and file know their names.

Insulation against people

The machine is well insulated against rank-and-file pressure. An insurgent without top backing finds it almost impossible to get near the driver's seat. If he's out to buck the bosses these are the hurdles he faces:

To get on the primary ballot the committeemen who support him must meet a score of complex regulations. The bosses are almost certain to contest designating petitions they don't like. If they do, the matter goes to the Board of Elections which consists of four members chosen by the City Council on the recommendation of the two major political party machines in Manhattan and Brooklyn. (Party bosses can remove them almost at will.) Like good machine men the commissioners are unlikely to rule in favor of insurgents.

If a slate of insurgent committeemen did get on the ballot, win the primary, name their man as district leader, he still could not take office, under party rules, unless approved by the whole county committee, which means the reigning bosses.

Corruption

(Continued from Page 9)

all New York City district leaders, Democrat and Republican, were on the court payrolls. There are no particular requirements for the job, and in most cases, no particular job. (In all, 91% of the present district leaders in both parties either have or had some government job.)

"NOT MUCH TO DO": At a closed session of the Crime Commission, Democratic district leader Sidney Moses, once secretary of Tammany Hall, testified about his job as secy. to City Court Judge Lupiano:

"Well, when the judge goes on the bench there is not much for me to do. Practically there is nothing for me to do whenever he goes on the bench."

Q: "Do you keep very busy on the job?"

Moses: "Who?"

Q: "You."

Moses: "No."

Republican district leader George Fanelli told how he was recommended to his job as secretary to City Court Justice Parella by the GOP county chairman; then he was asked:

"You are not a lawyer, are you?"

Fanelli: "No, sir."

Q: "You look up law?"

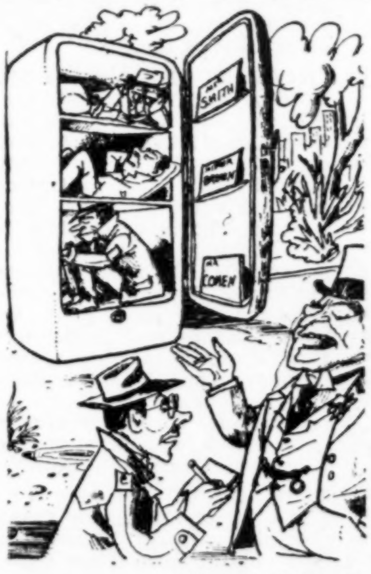
Fanelli: "No, sir."

Such secretary jobs pay a minimum of $5,200 a year. Fanelli still has his job with Justice Panella.

A LEARNED JUDGE: Judges have yet another slush fund at their disposal. They can appoint special guardians, receivers and referees who are well paid and are ordinarily required only to play ball with the machine. Such plums are known as legislators' specials.

When reformers proposed to take politics out of judge-making, David W. Peck, presiding justice of the N. Y. State Appellate Division (first dept.), commented: "But it [the judiciary] is a political institution."

(Next week: More "political institutions" seen from the glass-bottomed boat.)



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BOOKS AND PUBLICATIONS

HERESY.—The Rev. Claude Williams of Helena, Ala., is fighting against dismissal from the Presbyterian Church which charges him with "heresy." His lifelong fight for the disinherited of the South, his development of a dynamic people's interpretation of the Scriptures, rae told in Cedric Belfrage's **"A FAITH TO FREE THE PEOPLE."** A few copies still available, $1.25., from Claude Williams, Rt. 1, Box 268, Helena, Ala.

"GOOD NEIGHBOR"

New paper makes debut in Yorkville

LAST week Yorkville on Manhattan's upper east side had its own newspaper, the **Good Neighbor,** a twice-a-month four-page tabloid published by Vito Marcantonio.

Yorkville with its population of 200,000 needed local coverage, the paper pointed out, and in its first issue (Mar. 8) the **Good Neighbor** covered its beat quietly, competently in the tradition of a country weekly.

The lead story described the roof leaks and general disrepair in local schools, one of which was functioning before the Civil War. The paper reported preparations for the Yorkville basketball game between the "old-timers" and the "junior varsity" of East Side House; the battle against evictions. Columns listed religious services, noted the presence of an underground stream of beer running from the local Ruppert's brewery, told how to make Koenigsberger Klops and Spaetzle, and win workmen's compensation.

ANTI-DISPLACEMENT: In a signed editorial, publisher Marcantonio warned that real estate interests threatened to make Yorkville residents "displaced persons" by tearing down the old houses and building luxury apartments at fancy rentals. Lawyer Marcantonio, the paper reported, had just completed a year and a half battle to stave off dispossesses by Yorkville's Gold Coast Realty Co., won rent refunds for 150 tenants.

Have you read
"THE SPECTATOR"?
A bright new column
on theater, films, TV
See page 12

A GREAT AMERICAN MOVIE IS BORN

'Salt of the Earth' opens in New York

By James Aronson

JUAN CHACON and ROSAURA REVUELTAS
"Together we can push everything up as we go. . . ."

A BEAUTIFUL and passionate movie ranking with the great Italian and French films of realism opened March 14. It is American-made, American through and through. Putting first things first, you must not only enter **Salt of the Earth** on top of your top-priority list if you're within reach of the Grande Theater, on E. 86th St. east of Lexington Av.; you must tell all your friends about it. They and you will come out full of gratitude to the stout-hearted troupe that worked for more than two years, sometimes against odds that seemed insurmountable, to write this piece of American film history.

The history began with the formation of Independent Productions by a group of writers, technicians and artists whose integrity was too much for the Hollywood job-dispensers, frightened pygmies with souls frozen in the image of the dollar sign. It continued with long visits in 1951 and 1952 to a barren strike-bound mining strip in New Mexico by Michael Wilson, a 1950 Academy Award script winner (**Place in the Sun**), and the writing of the screenplay. The script was tested with the experts, picked apart by the miners and their wives, reworked till ready.

THE STRIKE: Then, on the day in 1952 that the General took oath as President and the White House lawn became a putting green, the company arrived in Silver City, N. M., to make the film with the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers Union.

The story was based on the 15-month-long strike by a handful of miners, almost all of them Mexican-Americans, against Empire Zinc Co. The strike was a saga, almost unparallelled in our time, of heroism and growth in the face of economic warfare, brutality, tear gas, eviction, union raiding and discrimination. It ended in victory for the union—Local 890 of Mine, Mill—mainly because of the courage and ingenuity of the miners' wives and sisters. It was a story which the GUARDIAN was proud to have brought to national attention in 1951 when the going was roughest for Local 890.

Against this background, and woven into the strike story with the skill and tenderness of great artistry, is the story of a man and his wife and how they grew to a deep love through the painful struggle to understand what it means to share and be equal.

THE PLAYERS: For their actors, director Herbert J. Biberman and producer Paul Jarrico chose a small group of professionals and for the rest asked miners and their families to play themselves. The selection and training of the cast is a wonderful tale in itself. For one miner-actor, the actor-foreman was so lifelike that he blew his part: "He gets me so damn mad I forget my lines."

But this feeling was exactly what the director wanted. And it got so that no one batted an eye when El Biberman, as the cast called him, shouted: "Magnificent! Do it again!"

The experiment worked; the faith was vindicated. The cast is life-size and the salt of the earth. Where a man is awkward and slow of speech before the camera, so you feel he must be in reality. Where a woman is shy and burdened with the sorrows of privation in the film, so you feel she must be away from the camera's eye. That is the great achievement of this film: it is real.

THE WOMEN: The camera catches the land and the mine, the homes and the saloon. But above all it catches the people. In its developing picture of the women who change from suffering and worn slavies to proud and meaningful partners, **Salt of the Earth** must provide an uncomfortable and thought-stirring interlude for just about every man in the house. But the halting acceptance by the miners of this partnership is more than compensation.

In the leading role Rosaura Revueltas, a distinguishes Mexican actress, plays with breathtaking fire and passion. Hers is a face of grave beauty in repose which breaks into dancing sunlight when she smiles: a face that tells the whole story of Silver City. As her husband, Juan Chacon, president of Local 890, makes his first appearance as an actor. His performance is remarkable. He brings to the screen the flesh-and-blood union sparkplug—proud, hot-tempered, stubborn, but yielding in the end to the truth which is his only master.

THE REALITY: There are other fine performances by Will Geer, as the sheriff, whose sardonic head-scratching humor is a welcome relief; Henrietta Williams, as the leader of the women's picket line; Angela Sanchez, Clorinda Alderette—and Clint Jencks, playing his real-life role as international union organizer. The five-year Taft-Hartley prison sentence imposed on Jencks recently is a direct outgrowth of his leadership in the E-Z strike.

Biberman's direction is simple and striking; Sol Kaplan's music is finely tuned to the action and exciting when it dominates the scene. Wilson's script asks for a special tribute. It is lean and accurate, jolting in its honesty, and warm in its compassion. There is no waste.

THE FUTURE: Threats on the floor of Congress, vigilante committees, fiery torches and deportation were used to try to halt **Salt of the Earth.** They failed. One year ago, even as Rosaura Revueltas returned to Mexico after 11 days' detention by U. S. immigration authorities (forcing revisions in the production), the filming was completed. In reflection Miss Revueltas wrote:

"It wasn't a happy leave-taking. There were bitter memories I could not leave behind. But I also carried home with me the spirit that had made this picture possible, the determination that would see it completed, and the inner assurance that a handful of ignorant and frightened men could never prevent its being shown to the peoples of the world."

May we all help this testament come true; there never has been a picture made in our America that needed showing more.

Events for Children

Films

AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATL. HISTORY, Central Park W. at 79th St. **Madame Curie**, 2 p.m., Sat., Mar 13; **Seven Little Ducks; Elephants & Red Hen**, 4 p.m., Wed., Mar. 17. Free.

MUSEUM OF CITY OF N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. **Wheels Across Australia & A Day at Silver Springs**, 11 a.m. & 3 p.m Sat., Mar. 20. Free.

WASHINGTON IRVING LIBRARY, 360 Irving Av , B'klyn. **Peter and the Potter**, 4 p.m., Tues., Mar. 16. Free.

Music & Dance

PIRATES OF PENZANCE: Children's Gilbert & Sullivan Matinee presented by The Comic Opera Guild. 215 W. 23d St. 3:15 p.m., Sun., Mar. 14. Children 50c, adults $1.50.

ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON, Playhouse Dance Company Alwin Nikolais, director. Henry St. Playhouse, 488 Grand St. 3 p.m., Sun., Mar. 21. $1.25. OR 4-1100.

MUSIC AND DANCE OF ISRAEL, Fred Berk and Company. Tercentenary of the arrival of the first Jewish settlers in New York. B'klyn Museum, Eastern Parkway Wash. Av. Sat., Mar. 20, 3 p.m. Free. (Children under 7 not admitted)

Plays

ALICE IN WONDERLAND, by Clare Tree Major Children's Theater, full length play. B'klyn Academy of Music, 30 Lafayette Av. 3 p.m., Sat., Mar. 20. All seats reserved. $1.50-90c. ST 3-6700.

MERRY-GO-ROUNDERS in two new story-ballets: **Tyrolean Wedding** (Austrian mountain celebration); **Forest Adventure** (capture of mountain lion); **The Goops** (pranks in younger ranks) YM-YWHA, Kaufman Auditorium, 92d St. & Lex. Av. Suns. 1:30 & 3:30 p.m. Mar. 14 & 28. Reduced rates for blocks of 20 or more. $2-$1. Box Office: TR 6-2366.

Miscellaneous

BROOKLYN PUBLIC LIBRARY BRANCHES: Parent Pre-School Group, films & talks: **Let's Go to a Movie & Haiti**, 1:30 p.m., Tues., Mar. 23. Arlington, 203 Arlington Av ; **Preface to a Life** (film), 2 p.m., Wed., Mar. 17, Flatbush, 9424 4th Av.; **Welcome to Washington**, 2 p.m , Tues., Mar. 16; **Highlawn** (film), 1721 W. 6th St.; **You and Your Social Security**, 2 p.m., Tues., Mar. 16, Saratoga, 81 Hopkinson Av. Free.

STORY HOURS: Museum of City of N. Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. **Springtime in N. Y.**, 2 p.m., Sat., Mar. 29; **B'klyn Museum**, Eastern P'kway & Wash. Av., Mar. 20, Sat., 10:30 a.m.; **B'klyn Children's Museum**, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. 11:30 a.m., Sat., Mar. 13 & 20. Free

MAR. 12-14: SAHARA
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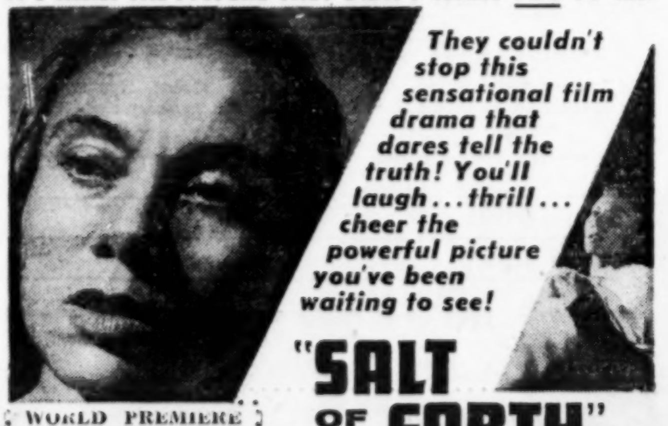

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. . . . The Picture Hollywood Dared Not Make! . . . . .
Written by Academy Award-Winner MICHAEL WILSON
Produced by PAUL JARRICO Directed by HERBERT J. BIBERMAN
Starring Mexican 'Oscar-winner' Rosaura Revueltas and Members of the Mine, Mill and Smelters Workers Union

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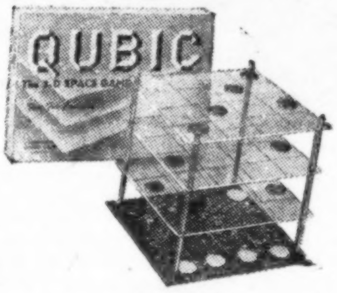

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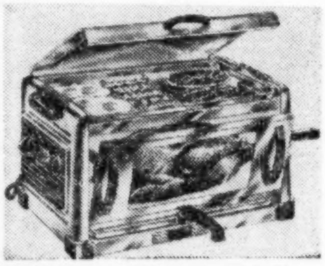

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the SPECTATOR

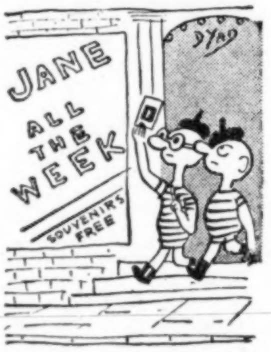
The world of Off-Broadway

THE SIMULTANEOUS BLOSSOMING of 18 off-Broadway productions is no seasonal freak but a healthy sign of a living tradition. The non-commercial theater still springs out of the social scene.

Almost 40 years ago the Little Theater movement was initiated by anti-philistine amateurs. Today the torch is carried mainly by anti-fascist professionals.

John Reed, Susan Glaspell, Eugene O'Neill and their friends took over the abandoned fish house on the Provincetown wharf, owned by Mary Heaton Vorse, not merely to stage an esthetic rebellion but to bring social truth into the theater.

This same faith inspires people today, only the battle is tougher. The movie studios and the television and radio networks, knuckling to McCarthyism, have dropped many of their first-rate talents. Now these artists must find producers who will judge them by their work, not prejudge them by their attitude toward the cold war, conformity and Congressional committees. Those who function in independent theaters face a difficult uphill climb, but it is an honorable alternative to a toboggan-ride with reaction.



Drawing by Dyad, London
"Look, Alfie—hold it up to the light and she's dressed."

IN THIS NEW TREND the most successful undertaking has been **The World of Sholom Aleichem.** The laudatory reviews and nationwide attention have made possible a second company on tour, now playing Chicago. This enormous appeal is not accidental. From the early solo readings, through the casting of brilliant, sympathetic actors, to the organization of ticket selling, there was always present the consciousness of the rapport that must exist between the show and the public.

The enthusiasm of the audience is not based upon sentimental loyalty to the blacklisted artists. Watching the sensitive performances, listening to the moving music, enchanted by the beauty of the production, they are lifted out of fear and pessimism; they experience a glow of hope and fellow-feeling. It is understandable that a progressive group should appear in these works in these times. This too follows the fine tradition of that band of Yiddish actors who, in their darkest hours, gave performances of Sholom Aleichem in a Nazi concentration camp.

THE THEATRICAL SCENE has been enlivened by other off-Broadway productions, such as **The Emperor's Clothes,** a story of a man's heroism in a police state; Shakespeare's **Coriolanus,** pointing up the fallacy of a rule by the elite; Marc Blitzstein's new version of **The Threepenny Opera**, and **Time of Storm,** a pertinent play about the Salem witch-hunt.

Not all off-Broadway productions achieve artistic stature nor enjoy great prestige, yet they reject the prejudices of commercial show business. Some do this by the nature of the plays they produce; some by assigning work to the most competent persons, regardless of their private views, or political associations, or their color.

This movement has gained momentum on both the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. In Los Angeles the former "showcases" to entice Hollywood job-givers are on the wane, and new groups plan productions for people, not for talent scouts. The GUARDIAN's musical revue **State of the Nation** played to enthusiastic audiences. This should encourage a topical theater for longer runs.

And between New York and Los Angeles we should see more small, independent, creative theaters burgeoning—the 1954 way of reaching American audiences. **—Spectator**

CONGRATULATIONS TO NATIONAL GUARDIAN

on its expansion to twelve pages. May this be a first step toward a GUARDIAN as thick as the N. Y. Times and with the circulation of Life Magazine.

—A group of friends of the
GUARDIAN from Bayside, N. Y.